592 [591] [928] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Ikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] [622] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was [562] strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu [621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the ● [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokuwa*.

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

595 five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the man's position the more wives he had." It is well [554] known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru] we find:

> Those who left the village to work had a wife at each place they stopped. However these women were wives in name only as they were given no support for living. Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting these wives after which they would return to their permanent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having many wives or to the desire for many children. However, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Ezo* [768] *Shima Ki* it says, "When a man died, his wife instead of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have resulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki*:

[622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although those of ill character took advantage of this custom and caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak from old age and who realized that their daughters would not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

[558] It is true that those with many wives gained great economic benefit from their free labor and later there arose the custom of taking many wives simply for the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states: "Those who were supporting many wives were, without exception, always wealthy."

● 567 Slaves, called *Utare*, existed in Ainu society. Although there have been various opinions about the exact status of the *Utare*, the *Ezo Fūdoki* takes them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare*. When in the presence of a chief they extended their hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show respect. During periods of mourning at their master's house they served him food." The *Ezo Sōshi* refers to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had many house servants called *Utare* who served hereditarily. When the master went out of the village to work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and would help the master." The *Moshiogusa* [Vocabulary of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants. Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary][52]

[52] Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories), Suppl.

states that it was a word for "wife, family, wife and children." *Utare* then probably meant "a man of the same kinsfolk," "a man of the same village," or "a man who was equal," and when the suffix was changed the word took on the connotation of "belonging to" and came to mean a servant or retinue of servants.[53] It may have become a word to denote those who became members of the village through possession for there were those who had become village residents through capture in war. On the other hand, there were those who had been born in the village and, unable to support themselves, had been taken into the custody of those with wealth. The *Watarishima Hikki* states: "Although there were men who could not support themselves and became dependents of the chiefs, they were called *Utare* and the word 'slave' was never used." Therefore, while their position was low there was no difference in the work they did as compared with the other members of the village. In later years as the wealth and position of the masters increased these *Utare* came to be bought and sold.[54] And no doubt among these *Utare* were relatives who had been unable to support themselves. There also existed a class of *"Usshiu"* usually held to be a class under the servants but probably this was another name for the *Utare*.[55]

Families with wives and slaves had the best chance of obtaining wealth, but that family with the best chance of obtaining wives and slaves was the head family. Slaves who came into a village as the result of capture, sales or trade, came under the jurisdiction of the chief who managed the communal property. It was also his duty to support those in need as though they were of his family, as well as to look after the widows of men from his group (it is illogical to speak of his "marriage" to the widows who became his "wives"). The right of the adjudication of communal property, the possession of "slaves," and the large number of "wives" made for a great difference in wealth between the family of the chief and the other families of the village. The chief's family simply had the largest available labor force; yet no sense of economic class resulted from this difference. For, while the chief was free to do as he pleased with his wealth, he was also obligated to the endless protection of his village. In this sense the wealth of a chief was common property and the chief merely the supervisor of its distribution.

3. SOCIAL REGULATION

Originally Ainu society was maintained by taboos which had religious significance and there are many

[53] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 496 ff.

[54] In the diary of Kimura Shikyō under the date of July 10 we find that Mogami Tokunai bought and gave an *Utare* to his Ainu servant instead of a sword he had promised him as a reward. It is noted also in the *Kita Eso Zusetsu* that there were people in Sōya and Karafuto who kidnapped lone persons and sold them in Manchuria.

[55] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 231, fn.

were presented with sealed appointments and had orders issued them as if they were a Manchurian colony[42] while, on the other hand, the Santan entered Karafuto when they pleased and traveled about freely hunting in the mountains. In other words, Karafuto came under Manchurian hegemony. When Japan went into Karafuto determined to manage with the same policies and methods the Manchurians used, there was bound to be trouble. So it was vital for the Bakufu to take an interest in the Santan trade.[43]

This was then the situation of the Santan-Ezo trade. But because the Ezo were lazy and the marten skins decreased from year to year until it was necessary for the Ezo to substitute in the trade their own goods plus swords, knives, and other Japanese-made goods obtained from Hokkaidô, many of them went into debt. Since there existed no standard rules for conducting trade, it would be carried on either at an Ezo or a Santan dwelling or sometimes simply on the open road where a price would be agreed upon. If the parties to the transaction were well acquainted, a year's credit was frequently agreed upon. But since the Santan were clever and the Ezo were not, the Ezo often accepted loans from the Santan and, at the expiration of the loan period, quarrels would arise owing to miscalculations or the Ezo would be unable to pay and the result was harsh treatment for the Ezo. Some were taken as human mortgages to serve the Santan as slaves and it is said that in later years women and children were sold.[44] So the Ezo feared the Santan and whenever it was known that the Santan were coming the Ezo would run and hide in the mountains. This timidity made the Santan even more arbitrary and some of them would loot the Ezo houses and hunt as they pleased or eat and drink as they wanted without payment.[45]

The trade center between Matsumae and Karafuto had been moved from Sôya to Shiranushi and in 1790 the Matsumae set up a post in Karafuto. The Orokko trade was handled at Kushunkotan and the Santan trade at Shiranushi and the Ezo were forbidden to go to Santan but since the officials during *Omusha* accepted the trade goods under the name of tribute it only added to the burdens of the Ezo. Thus the Ezo were victims of both the Japanese and the Santan. When the Bakufu stationed Matsuda Denjurô in Karafuto in 1809, he came to the conclusions that either the Ezo debt

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[42] *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*, Suppl.

[43] Karafuto no gi ni tsuki hyôgi no omomuki moshiage sôrô kakitsuke (Report on tenor of the discussions concerning Karafuto), *Kyumei Ibun* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 765.

[44] "It was the practice to sell the Ezo of this island to the Santan. Regardless of sex the poor and weak without family or kin would be lured out of a village and sold. The price ranged from three or four rolls of brocade to six or seven rolls depending upon physical condition. In cases where the Ezo was in particularly poor condition or so lazy that no satisfactory work could be expected he was not worth brocade and was traded for miscellaneous items." *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*.

[45] *Hokui Dan* 4.